136 to the headman-protector, there were also plenty of tigers and leopards. The author and his company slept one night in an old forest, called Ying-li-lo-ku. Even though we had a campfire during the night, we still felt the bitter cold.

133 In Mao-hsi-chü-lieh area there are some old, deep forests. After passing through them one climbs up to the top of [491] Huang-mao Kang, where the pathway suddenly becomes wide and level, broad enough for an automobile. The top of the mountain is about 3,500 meters above sea level. No trees grow there, but only small grasses which rise and fall with the autumn wind. So the place is called Huang-mao Kang [Yellow Grass Ridge]. West of the ridge, the mountains and streams are bright and beautiful, the farms and fields fresh and green. If one looks toward the far horizon, there is no dividing line between heaven and earth. The whole scene is like the "peach-blossom village," completely secluded from the outside world. Looking back to the east, one sees a different world with mountain precipice and deep chasms in disorderly rows, and old trees and deep grasses, all dark and gloomy.

Westward below the ridge, there are the villages of 36 Ch'iao-tzu-cho-lo on the left slope and Hsiao-lo-na-ta on the 62 right slope, the two just opposite each other. They both belong to the black Lolo of the Wu-ch'i branch. The villages in Ta-liang Shan are also widely dispersed, the houses being about several tens of feet apart. Each house has a mud wall [342] and a wooden ceiling, and is well built. Hsiao-lo-na-ta is about 100 li east of Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo; there is not a single household between these two villages. From here westward about 10 li is Erh-hou village, which also belongs to the Wu-ch'i branch. The whole village is built on a plain from the top of the slope downward to the bank of the stream. In the village [342] stands a modern-style house with white walls, a tiled roof, and a wooden door in the front, painted in red and also carved. It looks like a palace in the wild mountains.

Crossing the stream and walking along the river bank for about 50 li, one reaches Chih-hu-chê-ko village in the territory of the A-cho branch. Inside the village there is a natural pool encircled by big upright white poplar trees. It looks very beautiful and quiet. On the right side of the village is a small ridge, on which one can look down northward at the San-ho-i-chê stream that comes from Erh-hou village. This stream runs into the San-ho-i-mu river, which the Chinese call the I-ch'ê Ho. It forms a three-pronged river junction, like the mouth of the three rivers in I-ping, but here the water is very

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[39]

CHAPTER 4

THE FAMILY

361 As a basic unit of the Lolo clan, the family is the most closely related kin group. In a clan village, the number of families varies from about 10 to 50, each occupying a dwelling. The houses are scattered on a level plain or slope; together they constitute a village community.

594 The members of a family include husband, wife, and all unmarried children. After the children grow up and marry, they form a new family unit and live in a separate house. So the Lolo observe what is commonly called the small family system. As the household slaves (wa-tzu) are not included in the 567 kin group, there is also a master-slave relationship within each 592 household. The Lolo consider slaves as chattels; nevertheless the slaves are human beings, not immovables, and their behavior is related to group life. In Chapter 7, "Classes," the position of the slaves will be discussed in detail. It suffices to treat here the relationship between master and slaves within the household.

342 The behavior of family members and their interrela- 351 tionships are based on material aspects. First, we shall describe their dwelling, which is the center of family life. The construction of a Lolo house is adapted to the natural environ- [132] ment. Because of strong winds and heavy snow around Taliang Shan, all the houses are small and low, encircled by a square wall with one or two doors in the front or in left and right walls. For instance, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha's house in Pa-p'u village has only a wooden gate on the front half of the right wall, just a short distance from the corner of the fortified front wall. When we entered the door of Yo-ha's house, we [343] first saw an open level court; on its left or on the opposite side of the main gate was a fenced-in wooden enclosure, inhabited by fowls and cattle. At the front of the animal pen was tied a ferocious Pekingese dog, which barked madly at strangers and would probably have bitten them too if it had not been fastened to an iron chain. The households of Liang Shan had at 231 least one dog each for protection against enemies. Every time our inspection team passed a village, the dogs would chase and bark at us. Fortunately our Lolo headmen-protectors

231 were able to deal with them effectively; otherwise we would have been hard put to defend ourselves even if we had sticks in our hands.

342 [40] At the back wall of Yo-ha's house are located the family's living quarters, consisting of a rectangular room built entirely of wood. The roof is also made of wood with stones on top to protect it from wind and snow. The stones are arranged in an orderly and pleasing manner on the roof. There is a wooden door in the room, but no window. Upon entering the room, one immediately feels suffocated in the nose and mouth by widespread clouds of smoke from the fire in the 354 hearth. The construction of the hearth, which is located slightly to the left of the center of the room, is very simple. A round pit about three feet in diameter is dug in the ground for building the fire. Three stone slabs are placed in a triangle [439] over this pit to support the large iron pan used for cooking. The pan, round at the bottom, is imported from the Han-Chinese. The fire is lighted by striking a flint with a piece of iron, but [372] actually the fire in the pit is never allowed to go out and it burns day and night. The center of all family activities, the hearth plays an important part in the Lolo household, as is shown later in our discussion of their family life.

516 When we entered the house, we were welcomed by Yo-
353 ha and invited to sit at the back of the hearth by the rear wall. This is the seat of honor for guests. Yo-ha himself took the host's seat on the left side of the hearth. At the back of the host's seat, or sometimes on the left side of the room divided by a wooden partition, were the family sleeping quarters, which also served as the storage place for precious articles and 352 provisions. In front of the hearth stood a wooden cabinet, 415 wooden shelves, water pails, and all the food utensils. Under the shelves were firewood and straw. The right side of the room was divided by a bamboo fence into two sections: a grindstone, a mortar, wooden pails, bamboo baskets, and other articles in the rear half; and two yellow oxen in a [231] wooden pen in the front half. This was the arrangement of Yo-ha's house.

342 Most of the houses in Ta-liang Shan are the same as
351 Yo-ha's, but there are a few exceptions. For example, the house of our headman-protector, Ta-chi, is well known in the Liang Shan area as a Sinicized Lolo house. It has brick walls, a tiled roof, and an arched stone gate with Chinese characters carved on the top and sides. Inside the gate are two sections, the front being a Chinese-style courtyard with animal pens

342 on both sides and the rear containing living quarters arranged
351 in the same way as other Lolo houses except that the room is much wider and comparatively cleaner. The stone slabs on
354 the stove are carved with birds, animals, and flowers in shapes
531 which are quite graceful and beautiful. These represent marks of distinction for houses of noble Lolo families.

342 The houses in Hsiao-liang Shan are slightly different from those in Ta-liang Shan in that they all have straw roofs instead of wooden ones. They are similarly rectangular in shape, but not encircled by four walls. The fortifications are sometimes built on a corner of the house and sometimes outside of the house either on the left side or the right. The poor white Lolo families, whose houses are made of bamboo or thatch, have no such fortifications. Although the interior
353 varies from simplicity to elaborateness, the patterns of arrangement [41] are generally the same. In the center of the house stands the stove, on the right are the grindstone and animal pen, and on the left the sleeping quarters and grain storage. This kind of material cultural pattern merely shows that the Lolo family has a set of customs which control the behavior and action of its members.

302 There is also an unwritten code for clothing and ornamentation. The Lolo male usually shaves his head except for
[826] one small patch of hair above the forehead, called t'ien p'u-sa, which is considered a sacred part of the human body that should not be offended. The Lolo also pull out the hair of their beards so that it will not grow. Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u who lives in Wu-chio is over 70 years old, and although his t'ien p'u-sa is completely white, he does not have a single hair on his face. In stature, a Lolo and a Han-Chinese are hardly distinguishable, but one who has a beard is inevitably a Han-Chinese while one who has a t'ien p'u-sa is generally a Lolo, with the exception of those Han-Chinese slaves who are forced to keep a
291 t'ien p'u-sa. The Lolo male usually covers his head with a piece of cloth, either black, white, or blue. It is quite long and wrapped around the head like a turban; sometimes a braid of hair is tied to the top, protruding from above the forehead like the horn of an antelope. Lu Hsüeh-nien, a black Lolo of P'a-ha village in Hsiao-liang Shan, has his headgear fixed in in this style.

515 The Lolo leave their faces unwashed in spite of accu-
301 mulated dirt. Often a hole is pierced on the lower lobe of a
304 man's left ear. Sometimes he wears in it three red beads, from each of which hang down silk strings of various colors; sometimes he wears a silver earring; at other times he uses only a piece of cotton thread without any ornament.

231 The Lolo do not
[262] drink milk but eat beef. The killing of an ox is considered a big occasion.

[564] Horses are the monopoly of the black Lolo, but are not driven in herds. The black Lolo use them for riding and hunting or for sports and racing. [66] The horse is the most precious animal, and its meat is not eaten.

Oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep, which are the most important domestic animals of the Lolo, constitute a part of their property with considerable economic value. Except for
262 the horse, the meat of oxen, sheep, and pigs can all be used for food. The daily meal of the Lolo is ordinarily limited to grains and vegetables. As to meat they have a different method of distribution. During the several festivals each year, such
262 as the wool fair, the New Year, and the farewell party to the
574 Buddha, they have to kill animals for sacrifice, after which members of the family gather to share in the sacrificial meat. On occasions such as weddings and funerals, they also divide the meat as a gift and eat and drink together. In cases of sickness, exorcising, drought, and praying for rain, they use magic to stabilize the disturbed emotions of the people, while at the same time they kill animals as sacrifices and gather together the clan members for a big feast. From the practical point of view, this kind of festival and entertainment is a traditional social device to give the people an opportunity to have an equal share of meat.

224 The economic life of the Lolo is basically agricultural and pastoral. Hunting, however, is also practiced. Groups of young Lolo would sometimes roam the wild mountains and forests to hunt tigers, leopards, and deer. Before the expedi-
[197 tion they would consult the diviner on its result. The food
262] from the animals they have captured is enjoyed together.

In industry, the building of a new house is considered
● 342 a major event. First, the builder assembles his clan members and neighbors and in their presence selects a date for building. Then, as an expression of united effort and mutual help, they all work together to build the mud wall, the wooden frames, the roof, and finally the walled fortress. Crafts,
463 such as the making of capes, ornaments, furniture, agricultural tools, wooden utensils, bamboo baskets, etc., are usually done by one or two persons. Only enough products are made to meet local household needs.

438 House, farm, and other immobile property are handed down as a family inheritance from father to son. They are not traded as commodities on the market. On the other hand, cattle, agricultural products, clothing and ornaments, furniture,

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

241 is gathered and used as fodder for the cattle, or in the making of the straw mats which are used on the beds of the people [231] all over the country. As fodder for cattle the Nosu hillmen prefer the wild grass of the hills, and as a bed-mat is a luxury these men do not indulge in, the rice straw is ploughed into the fields again.

• 342 Near the ricefields were a few houses, where dwelt the cultivators of these fields. A rough wall surrounded the houses, evidently as a defence against attack. On the wall sat a couple of Nosu with their long felt capes on, and as 000 they caught sight of me they burst into laughter. My black English suit was a never-ending source of amusement to the tribes-people. They had never seen a human being so dressed before. The nearest approach to such a dressed being was the black bear, which is very common among these hills. Again and again the people burst out with the cry: "A man black bear." One hunter told me one day that had he suddenly come across me in the woods he would unhesitatingly have shot me for a bear. I am very glad the constant presence of friends prevented such a catastrophe. When talking it over one night I could not help remarking that it would have been a great take-in for us both. To the hunter who shot the man for a bear the layer after layer of garments would have been a surprising revelation. It was something to my advantage that my appearance always provoked hearty laughter. A man who laughs heartily at you cannot get very angry with you, try he never so hard. More than one good story has been told of how foreigners in China have saved their lives by being able to provoke a merry laugh in those who were going to attack them. All the time we were in Nosuland good humour and laughter were the

such health-giving, friend-making mirth, I would take care never to be without a supply of such suits.

The room we were shown into was fifty feet long, and there was no opening at all for light except the one door in the centre. We found everything quite dark, and could not see one another until our eyes got accustomed to the want of light. We made our way to the fireplace, which was the usual hole in the mud floor. We were glad to squat down in the warmth by the side of the burning logs. It was a treat to get one's shoes and stockings off and to warm one's feet by the comforting fire. The master and mistress of the house were both over seventy years of age, and were tall, finely built people. The son's wife came in soon after and joined the group around the fire. She had on a blue jacket and a quilted skirt, and wore an enormous head-dress. This latter was made by winding layer after layer of dark blue native cloth around a small frame. Sometimes nearly a hundred feet of this cloth is so wound round the head. The width of the cloth is a little more than a foot. The weight of the head-dress is nearly six pounds, and must be a great burden until one is used to it. Compared with some of the light-as-a-feather hats worn by Western women, this is a great burden indeed, which one fancies is the cause of many headaches. The women, however, do not seem to mind it, and as a crown to their tall figures the head-dresses are both striking and picturesque.

We had been promised a good time at Ah-Pooh's farmstead, and had imagined all the stores of folk-lore and legend and history we were to gather together. But we had indeed reckoned without our host. The old man was very fond of wine and the Chinese of the market village where we had

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

CHAPTER XIX

HOW WE STOPPED THE FIGHT

574 AS soon as the chief of the Njeh clan invited us up to his apartments we went. The room we entered was ten yards long, and at one end there was the usual fire. The chief was sitting on the other side of the fire, waiting for his guests. As we came in he made no movement but sat on where he was, as quiet and grave as if he had been one of Fenimore Cooper's great chiefs come to life again in West China. We walked towards the fire and sat down close to the warm, inviting blaze. The first thing done was a presentation of wine all round. I don't think they could quite understand why I never drank any. While the rest were going 342 574 through this ceremonial drinking I looked around, and noticed that the house we were now in was larger and better built than most of the houses we had been in. The beams supporting the roof were of great size, and the pillars on which these beams rested were more than a foot in diameter. There were four rooms in the house, all without partitions, and the one in which we sat was the largest. As is customary with these Nosu houses, the roofing was of thin pine boards. When these boards are well laid on they defy the weather, and very little leaking takes place. None of the houses are built high. I was told that the reason for this was that in 342 the clan fighting house-burning forms an important part of 574 the aim of the fighters. The burning of a house wipes out a 628 blood feud, and life need not be taken after a house is burnt.

5: Pollard M-5.(no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

342 For this reason even the great chiefs do not trouble to build
574 such fine houses as do the Nosu who live in Chinese territory.
628 In the latter I have often seen the houses of the Earth Eyes built in much finer style than the dwellings of the large officials who live in the prefectural cities. Here in Nosuland if a house is burnt down it is not an irreparable loss.

574 Sitting by the wood fire on the floor I was fortunate enough to have one of the house pillars at my back, so that I could lean against it. Just by my side were eight guns, mostly of a rude pattern, far different from the modern rifles which in some way or other find their way into this hill country.

721 We soon learned particulars of the fighting which had
628 taken place not long before between the Njeh tribe and several other clans. In the seventh moon seven clans had gathered together their forces, and with a strong band of several hundred fighting men had invaded chief Njeh's lands. At first the chief did not take the matter very seriously, and made no great attempt to resist the raiders. But when three of his slaves were killed and a number of his men captured he woke up. His slaves all over the district demanded revenge, and unless the old man took the matter up seriously he would lose face in the eyes of everybody. Seeing the turn in the state of affairs, and that Chief Njeh was determined to punish the raiders as far as he could, the other side began to temporise and made a peace offer of nine head of cattle. In this way they hoped to gain time for further negotiations, as it was not convenient just then for the enemy to make preparations for resisting a raid into their territory. When the New Year came around, if the further negotiations failed, they were prepared to fight again. It

000 they told us of a man who with his own consent had been sold three times, and each time had run away in safety.

342 Some of the houses we passed on our way were built of two or three thicknesses of wattle, and were plastered over with cow-dung to keep out the wind. The people told us these houses were quite warm.

241 Nearing the village where we were to rest that night, we met a couple of horses sent for us to ride on. The one I got on was a fiery little creature, which wanted to be off like the wind. In the running my new cloak got loose and dropped off. The people with me roared at this. Later on the low branches swept off my hat, and there was another hearty roar. Two accidents in a ride of two hundred yards, which was all I rode all the time I was in Nosuland! We entered the village through a lane formed by bamboos plaited together. Each stick being covered with ice, the white lane looked very charming indeed. These fences must have taken a lot of trouble to make. They evidently were intended to prevent the cattle from straying on to the vegetables which were grown in patches in front of the houses.

576 When about to enter a house, the visitor always stops for a moment and gives a warning cough, that those inside may not be taken unawares, and that they may come outside and drive away the dogs from annoying the visitors. Our warning cough answered its purpose, and Vri-ha was soon at the door, pressing the visitors to enter. The house was one of

342 the usual low-built houses, roofed with the thin pine planks.

751 A number of the stones were on the roof to keep the planks from being blown off by the high winds. Icicles were hanging down from the roof, and under the eaves were one or two of the long spears kept in such places in readiness for use as

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

342 751 occasion required. Over the door we noticed the usual charms hung there by the all-present wizard. There were rams' horns, several hoofs and a lot of small tablets with Nosu characters written on them. In all there were scores of these charms of one kind or another, enough, one would have thought, to have kept all the disturbing influences out of that home.

574 415 Entering in, we were delighted to see a huge fire blazing away as if delighted to welcome so many guests. Vri-ha's father, an old man of seventy-four, gave us warm greetings, and we were soon at home once more in one of these hospitable Nosu dwellings. We had only just got seated when the ceremonial presentation of wine was made to each one of us. The wine was just the ordinary grain spirit drunk so freely by these people, but the cups in which the wine was presented were most remarkable. I examined one of them closely and found it was composed of the claw and part of the leg of an eagle. The skin of the leg had been stretched over a wooden cup and the lower part of the leg and the claw formed the handle of the cup. The cup could only be put down when empty, owing to the irregularity of the claws. These were the most curious winecups I have ever seen, and when on leaving I was presented with one of them, I felt I had got a curio indeed. That the cup could only stand up when upside down was no drawback to the Nosu, who have no wish to keep a cup with wine in it undrunk for any length of time. Having taken the cup in their hands, they were not anxious to put it down until empty. I wonder what the eagle would say did he know the use his terrible claws were being put to.

574 Very soon after the presentation of the wine, conversation

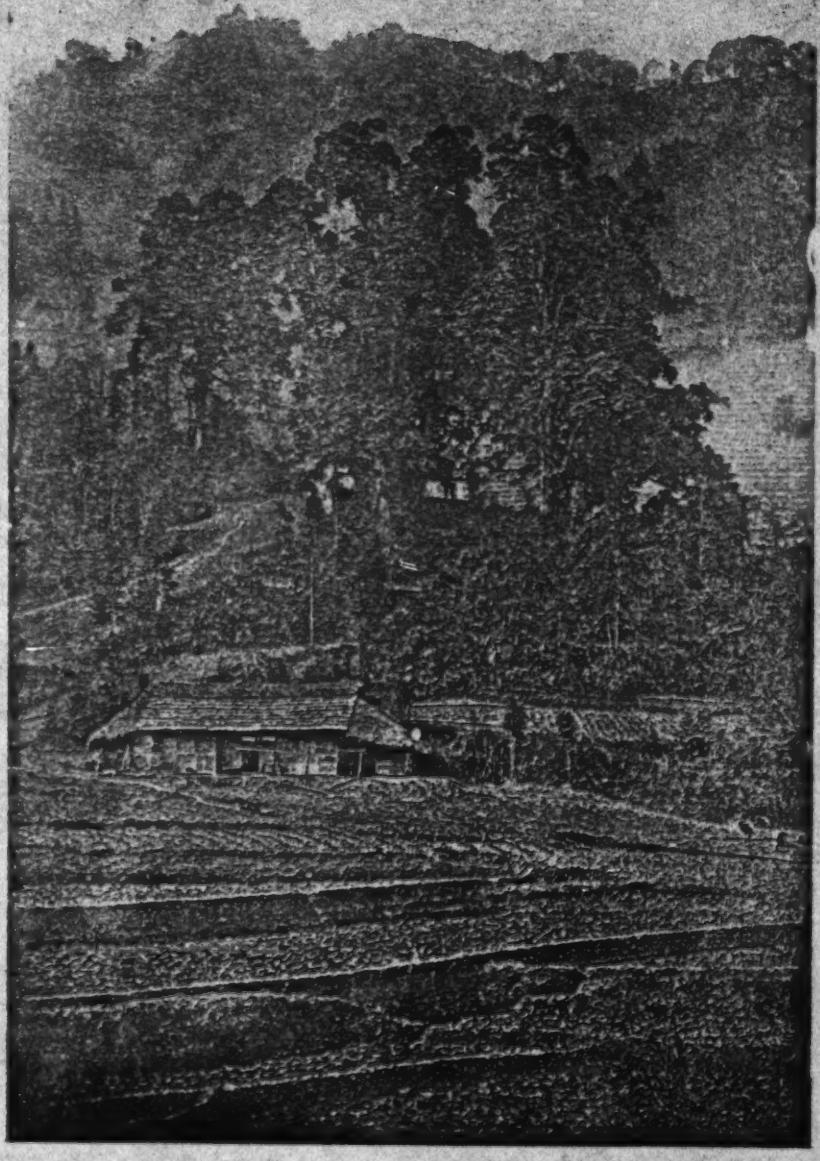
5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

the time away and enjoy themselves. When these Riviera holiday-makers become too frequent, some of the lowland farmers erect a pole of cursing near their home, and get a lot of wizards to call an army of demons together to infest the neighbourhood of the pole. This news gets abroad, and effectually stops the bands from straying in that direction. For once one sees some use in ghosts and a haunted spot. Some others of us who get pestered by unwelcome visitors would like to be able to keep a ghost or two to guard the premises and the quiet of the home from certain folk. One wonders, however, what plans are made to keep the ghosts from interfering with the members of the family that desires their help. Possibly the ghosts get tame like household dogs, which in the case of the Nosu will let alone all whom they know, but tear in pieces all strangers they can get at.

We were going now to be the guests, for a day or two, of Ah-pooh's daughter, the widow in the gorgeous robes, who had been so friendly and had taken so deep an interest in all we did when we were at See-tieh. We were expecting a warm welcome, for Ah-ku, the widow, evidently knew how to be hospitable, and to make people feel at home. As we were walking along we suddenly turned a corner, and there, before us, was Loh-deh, the home where Ah-ku and her retainers lived. It was a remarkably situated place, being the spur of a hill, very difficult of access on three sides, and approached on the fourth by a narrow ridge. A band of well-armed men could easily have defended it against ten times their number. Many of these wealthy Nosu, both in their own land and in Chinese territory, have chosen their dwellings with the one idea of defence. Ah-ku lived on the higher part of the ridge, in a strongly built house, with a large tower adjoining. She

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

342



BUILDINGS ROOFED WITH THE BARK OF THE PINE-TREE, WHICH LAST TEN OR MORE YEARS

[Plate facing p. 264]

and drop off to sleep. Such habits are practiced by both men and women whether at home or outdoors, whether sleeping on dry or wet ground. The ch'a-er-wo is certainly the most valuable object for the I: during the day it shelters them from rain and wind, protects them from the cold and sun, and at night it serves as their bedding. These practices, however, are possible only with the I who have strong constitutions and have relatively little fear of the cold and dampness, having learned to withstand them from childhood. Should the Chinese live in like manner, they would probably freeze to death after one night in the open air covered only with a ch'a-er-wo.

Although the Lolo are not afraid of the cold, they do dread heat tremendously. Perhaps the I in some districts of Yünnan province are an exception to this generalization. All the I of Liang-shan, however, fear the heat more than any other people in the world, and get sick as soon as they remain in a humid and hot place. Like the wild yak, they are a group accustomed to living in high mountains or at least half way up the mountain. /105/ Not only is it hard for them to bear the climate of Ch'eng-tu, but they cannot even live in the city of Lei-po, which is 1,260 meters above sea-level; nor can they always endure the extemely mild climate of Hsi-ch'ang, which is 1,820 meters above sea-level. There are very few families that live by streams or in the valleys and plains even though the fertile soil there may be used for cultivation. It is quite amusing to note that their selection of the dwelling site is on an entirely different basis from that of the Chinese. The latter, after a day's hard labor, generally do not wish to exert more energy by climbing a mountain; but the I, once the sun has set, find it most pleasurable to climb a steep mountain to return from the fields to their wintry homes.

Most of the houses of the Lolo, whether rich or poor, Heh-I or Wa-tzu, master or slave, have the same simple architectural style, and do not differ greatly in the quality of building materials. A Heh-I's house, somewhat larger than that of the Wa-tzu, generally consists of a row of three rooms, corresponding to the so-called three-room flat in Peiping. Its size is equal to that of the hsiang fang /side rooms/ of a Peiping house, the height being that of an ordinary one-story house. The roof is covered with yu-pan (narrow, unpainted and uneven wooden boards) in the style of a Tibetan house. The outer walls are made of mud, like those of a Chinese peasant hut. The three rooms are usually not separated. Only the relatively rich Heh-I partition off one room with a mieh hsi /mat made of bamboo-splints/ for

342 use as the master's bedroom. The center room is always used as kitchen, dining room, and living room combined. The remaining one serves as a stable for the cows and horses at night. There are no 343 privies, for all Lolo relieve themselves outdoors. In Tibet, people live on the upper story, while the ground floor is used as a stall for cows and horses, and as a privy. The Lolo, however, lead an even more primitive life; one can actually say that these people share their habitations with cows and horses. They have no true upper story although each of the two side rooms has a low, suspended upper floor made of thin strips of bamboo, which may be reached with a removable ladder. These suspended platforms are used mainly for food storage. Guests are also welcome to sleep upstairs as an expression of hospitality, or they may sleep on the muddy ground in the center room. While traveling in Liang-shan, we always preferred to stay on the ground floor for sleeping upstairs involved the danger of breaking through the partition and falling right to the ground.

/106/ In front of each Lolo house, there is a small piece of level ground used as a day-time resting place. The rooms are used solely as sleeping quarters. Except for one door leading out from the center room, there are no other doors nor windows; in fact, windows do not exist in the I region. The rooms are therefore very dark even 512 in the daytime and it is most uncomfortable to remain indoors. Hence all daily activities are performed outdoors where the little piece of level ground serves as a center. They do not enter the rooms before it is dark, and instead of using lamps, borrow light from the "kuo-chuang" /a cooking-pot stand above the stove/ for an evening meal, after which they drop off to sleep. The Wa-tzu toil all day in the fields and do not return until dark. The Heh-I, who are not obliged to labor in the fields, also refrain from doing any kind of menial work, which is 574 to be done by the Wa-tzu upon their return. For this reason it is customary for travelers in Liang-shan to wait until nightfall to visit or lodge with a family. Before that time there would be no one in the Wa-tzu's house, and though there might be some people at the Heh-I's, these would be no Wa-tzu there to attend them. In both cases the arrival of guests would be most inconvenient and embarrassing to the host. Should one discover that the hour is still too early, one might as well first take a nap on the way. It is of course permissible to be a little early. Under these circumstances, however, one must definitely not burst into the host's rooms but must stop and wait at the level ground in front of the house, which is the place where a host entertains his guests during the day.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

As a matter of fact, the tenants,
427 for the sake of mutual protection, group themselves in hamlets and villages. Besides the nominal rent they pay, the laird has the right to make levies on them on special occasions, such as funerals, weddings, and when he has litigation in the Chinese courts. Each of the tenants also owes the laird so many days' labour during the year with his cattle, and this he pays in cultivating the land which the laird actually farms, and in gathering his crops. When the landlord has a dispute with another laird, his tenants are expected to follow him to the field if it comes to fighting, and to defend his residence if it is attacked.

427 These tenants, No-su and Miao, are very
511 poor, but, as far as I was able to judge, their
262 condition is not intolerable. Certainly they
342 appear to be better off than the peasantry were in France two hundred years ago, and than most of the peasantry are in Russia to-day. They live principally on maize, buckwheat, and oatmeal; their hovels are nearly always made of mud,
231 and badly thatched with straw. Many families have a pony, and all of them two or three cows, a few pigs, half a dozen or a dozen sheep and goats, and some fowls. The oxen are used for ploughing. Like the Chinese, they never milk their cattle and goats, and never use milk, butter,

[177 cont.]

291 the top of the head by means of a wooden comb, and bound in a white headband. Covering the whole is a small turban, whose ends, [802] embroidered and decorated with beads, hang down in back of the head and reach to the shoulders. No portion of the head is shaved.

"Lolo" men and women wear wrapped leggings of linen. However, they very often go about with bare legs and feet.

301 The various feminine jewelry, rings, bracelets, necklaces, are of silver and of a style very close to that of the "Méo" jewelry.

342 The "Lolo" cabins are of two principal models. In the wealthy villages, established near fertile fields, the cabins are built on 231 piles, like those of the "Thai." The animals are confined underneath the house.

In the poor hamlets, the cabin rests directly upon the ground and is made of a straw roof and of walls of maize stalks. The domestic animals then are kept in a shed near the cabin.

[356] In any case, the dwelling consists of only a single room, generally clean and well cared for. There are no partitions forming interior compartments.

352 The furniture is always of the simplest: a cot bed the length of the long side walls, chests, tables and benches. The crops are [251] stored almost everywhere.

354 The kitchen always contains two hearths, one of which is specially set apart for the preparation of the food of the unmarried girls, for the reason which will be indicated later.

[178] The kitchen utensils, pans in the shape of spherical skull-415 caps, trays, bowls, cups, and so on, are in no way unique and are similar to the models already described.

262 According to the type of farming, irrigated rice fields or mountainous slopes, the "Lolo" eats either rice, or maize and mountain rice. Besides, he consumes a great quantity of vegetables, peas, beans, cucumbers, eggplants, and so on. Meat is reserved for festi-[273] val days. Alcohol made from rice or maize is often drunk immoderately.

[681] From the time they have reached puberty, the young girls must not eat meat and may not use utensils in which greasy foods have been cooked, under pain of falling ill immediately.

[181 cont.]

769 nine knots for a woman, serve as armatures for figurines made from
778 tufts of paper. These figurines, which are of a height of about ten centimeters, are fastened to the partition which forms the ancestral altar.

793 The "Lolo" have priests-sorcerers who pass down the traditions by word of mouth.

181 The "Lolo" are of a rather happy disposition, and like the "Meo"
53 they neglect no opportunity for feasting. They perform singing dances, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. These dances are accompanied by the musical instruments of which we have spoken above.

[182] The "F'ou-la"

101 The "F'ou-la" form a tribe of the "Lolo" group which is rep-
[131] resented in Tonkin by only a hundred people, spread in small hamlets the length of the frontier, in the regions of Hoang-Su-Phi, Muong-khuong, and Baxat.

The "Thai" call them the "P'ou-la."

In their dialect, the "F'ou-la" call themselves by the name of "Peu-pa."

101 Like the other "Lolo," the "F'ou-la" come from the provinces
582 of the south of China and are extremely mixed with the other tribes
[167] of the frontier zone, but they also preserve their original characters by avoiding all intermarriage with their neighbors. They maintain their special type as described above with reference to the "Lolo."
[181] They are timid and gentle, which constitutes a weakness in relation to the neighboring tribes, who are more energetic.

197 The vocabulary of the "F'ou-la" differs noticeably from that of the "Lolo," but evidently is related to the dialects of the group; the sentence structure is identical with that of the "Lolo."

212 They are not acquainted with any writing; they employ Chi-
198 nese characters. Their language of commerce is the "kouan-hoa."

342 The "F'ou-la" live in cabins of two principal models:
231 1. Cabins on piles, of the type used among the "Thai," but consisting of a flooring raised only a very little above the ground

[182 cont.]

342 level, in such a way that the under part of the cabins can be used
231 only for sheltering fowl, goats, and pigs. (The tall domestic animals must be kept outside the dwellings, in the stables of the model already described.)

2. Rectangular cabins of pisé built level with the ground and
342 covered with a straw roof in two sections. This model is found espe-
[177] cially in the "F'ou-la" hamlets in contact with the "Méo." They always have on one of the long sides of the house, a kind of rather large terrace, covered by a prolongation of the roof. The interior frequently has a corridor running the length of this same long side, upon which open the various rooms of the house. The interior partitions, as well as the material closing the space between the top of the walls and the upper angle of the roof, are of crushed bamboo.
[356] The inside of the cabins is rather well cared for.

(Photo 335, Plate 44, shows a "F'ou-la" village of the region of [183] Muongkhuong, built in a "Méo" zone.) The structures have much similarity to "Méo" cabins, but the surroundings of the cabins are infinitely cleaner than in the hamlets of the latter group.

The costume and the headdress of the "F'ou-la" men much
291 resemble those of the "Lolo" described above. The jacket is short
177 and the bottom of the pantaloon is embroidered over a rather large width. But, in addition to the uniform of the tribe, the "F'ou-la" men wear indiscriminately the "Thai" or "Méo" costume or even the Chinese.

291 The feminine dress of the tribe includes the following articles:

1. A jacket of a rather short type, but still slightly longer than that of the "Lolo" women, leaving bare no part of the waist. This jacket usually is of very dark-blue material, almost black. It is buttoned in front of the neck and on the right side. It is edged on the front by a light-blue band more or less wide, followed by a white or light-blue piping. Some "F'ou-la" women wear jackets of very light blue, in this case the border and the piping are of red. (See the woman at the right in photo 514, Plate 44.) The jacket has a narrow collar (one or two centimeters) decorated with embroidery, the wide sleeves reaching down to the middle of the forearm and ending in two or three circular bands, white, red, or blue, reaching about up to the height of the elbow.

[185] The "Xa-pho"

101 The name of "Xa-pho" is used to designate rather important
131 "Lolo" tribes, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 individuals, which
161 are settled on the right bank of the Red River in the regions of Baoha and of Coc-Leu, mixed with "Thai" and with "Nhang.

These tribes call themselves the "Lao-pa."

The "Xa-pho" are rather closely related to the "F'ou-la." Even more timid than the latter, they have allowed themselves to be completely dominated by the "Thai," who often treat them as veritable slaves, available to perform forced labor or to pay taxes without mercy. Moreover, the "Xa-pho" accept this inferior position, which they appear to have no desire to alter.

181
648

The costumes of the women resemble those of the "F'ou-la," but the jacket is shorter and it is edged by a wide band on which are embroidered lozenges filled with multicolored designs.

291
531

The dialect has many analogies to the "F'ou-la" dialect. The language of commerce is the "Thai" and sometimes Annamese.

197

The mores and customs of the "Xa-pho" come closer and closer to those of the "Thai" and of the "Nhang" among whom they live. The cabins, which are very clean, are most frequently of the type built on piles. The hamlets are not far from the rice fields, but always located on the slopes of the hillsides.

177
342
361

No more than the other "Lolo," the "Xa-pho" have neither a religion nor beliefs which are well defined, beyond a vague worship rendered to their ancestors. They are very little interested in matters concerning souls and spirits.

771
769

They have very few legends. They appear to be totally ignorant of that of the deluge, which, nevertheless, is known, with numerous variations, by almost all of other tribes of Upper Tonkin. They have preserved one which explains in the following manner the required style of the "Lolo" jackets: The first human couple had four sons from whom are descended the four principal races of the region:

773

[101] The "Xa-pho" called "Lao-pa."
The "Thai" called "Gia-lo-pa."

[187 cont.]

291 part of the breast covering is attached about the belt.

3. A pantaloon of a very wide style, stopping at the knees.

4. Leggings coming up to just above the knees and often decorated with embroidery on the lower portion.

5. A headdress recalling, in its total appearance, the one we have described for the "Pa-y" women.

The hair, knotted in a very tight chignon, carries on its high-
[302] est portion a sort of rigid armature trimmed with spherical silver buttons. On top of the whole is placed a very light piece of material, of fine linen dyed dark blue, with a fringed border.

The "Ho-nhi" women have very abundant jewelry: rings,
301 bracelets, and earrings. They also have necklaces of a special design, made [188] of little round plaques of embossed silver, threaded upon a cord. Some of the women trim the front of their jackets with a row of these same small plaques.

The "Ho-nhi" cabins are rectangular and very small. The
342 walls are of mud. The straw roof comes very low down, in such a
353 way as to create all along the outside walls a wide, sheltered corridor. The hut has only one door, which opens on an interior hallway. It is divided into several compartments by light mud partitions. All its rooms open upon the interior hallway. The hall of honor contains the ancestral altar and usually is located opposite the entrance doorway. The kitchen is most frequently set up in the interior hallway in the section farthest away from the entrance doorway.

The type of life of the "Ho-nhi" is like that of all the tribes
243 that cultivate irrigated rice fields. The agricultural implements and the farming methods are in no way unusual.

The beliefs and customs are rather close to those of the "Méo."
771 Like the latter, the "Ho-nhi" love independence. Living very iso-
181 lated on their high hills, they retain great freedom of bearing and are not obsessed by a fear of evil spirits.

58 The "Ho-nhi" marry among themselves. The marriage proposal is made by intermediaries. The wedding ceremonies present no noticeable peculiarity. As among all the other groups, they are marked by great rejoicing and substantial feasts.

155: Abadie--245 G-5 (no date) 1924 AMI Indochine

Lolo AE4

142
291
301

342
361

[764]

335. "F'ou-la" Village.

337. "F'ou-la" Unmarried Women.

514. "F'ou-la" Married Women.

348. The Rock of the Tombs ("Lolo").

culture, but less cunning in business matters and less energetic in the defense of their interests.

The Lolo smoke opium a great deal and this passion is highly prejudicial to their physical and intellectual development. Neither men nor women chew betel.

In their mode of living a truly characteristic custom should be noted, that the women are vegetarians after they have attained puberty. They may not eat the tiniest piece of the meat of pig, fowl, or dog and must not even prepare their food with grease. For this reason their cooking is done in special saucepans.

The dwelling is constructed either directly on the earth as among the Meo, or on piles as among the Tho. It is usually surrounded by fruit trees which give a picturesque appearance to the hamlets.

The Lolo, who in Tonkin are always somewhat overwhelmed in the midst of the Meo settlements, are easily influenced by their neighbors. They live in the same way, grow the same crops, and feed themselves in a similar fashion. The Meo, more greedy for gain and more energetic, are dispossessing them little by little from the better sections of ground, and there is every reason to believe that their conditions of existence will become more and more miserable.

Except the La Qua, all the Lolo varieties speak analogous dialects with characteristic syntax. They are the only ones who imitate the inversion of the Latin phrase by placing the object after the verb. All of these groups, detached for many long years from the large groups in Yunnan, have forgotten Lolo writing. Furthermore, they have not learned Chinese characters.

/There appear between pages 146 and 147 of the text the following two photographs: "Two White Lolo women"; "Two Black Lolo women."--translator/

/147/

Section 2

Costumes Peculiar to Each Variety

Each variety of the ethnic group is distinguished by a special costume.

The first is that of the White Lolo, an expression which is translated as Pey Lolo in Chinese, Mia Khao in Tho, and Mung za

101 The Ho Nhi may apparently be connected with the Lolo group
197 because of their language. There are very few of them in Tonkin,
131 and they are settled at the extreme western part of the Chinese frontier.
●342 Their cabins, built on the soil itself, have roofs which come down
291 very low and mud walls. The men's clothing is of the style usual among the mountaineers and very dark blue in color. The women wear a garment of the same basic color, consisting of a long tunic whose inner skirt is raised up on the right hip, and a breast-covering, wide trousers descending to the knee, and leggings which are put on like stockings and tied up with garters. Their headdress is made by placing
[302] a dark blue kerchief over their chignon whose fringes drop to each side of the face, and they put on top of this a leather crown trimmed with little silver bells.

/150/

Section 3

Customs and Religious Ideas

771 The customs of the Lolo who have immigrated to Tonkin have not been preserved in their primitive purity and frequently are full of customs of the neighboring ethnic groups. Detailed study of them, therefore, will not be interesting from an ethnographic point of view. We shall only point out those which include some trace of characteristic mores.

[581] Customs relating to marriage are very obviously the same as among the Meo. Those relating to death have certain unusual character-
764 istics. Thus, among the Kan tao Lolo or "cutters of heads," the dead are buried without any coffins and a hollowed-out bamboo extends from the head of the corpse and comes out above ground level. When the children of the deceased think that decomposition of the corpse must be completed, they make certain by placing their nose at the upper end of the bamboo. When no further odor emanates, they proceed to exhume the head of the corpse and place it in a basket which they expose to view in their cabin. The object of this rite is the revival each day of the memory of their deceased relative.

769 The ancestors' tablet among the Lolo is made up of a paper figurine which is hung up on the partition of the cabin.

When the anniversary of a deceased relative is to be celebrated, a mannequin is constructed, stood up and dressed so as to recall the one whose memory they wish to honor. Women come to sing and